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The Divination performed by the Jain Monk Vajhara and Xuanzang's Decision to Return to China: What really happened in Nālandā in the year 643?

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Abstract:

This paper aims to shed more light on the interrelationship between Buddhism and Jainism in the 7th century (§ 1 and § 6). The starting point of my examination deals with a particular divination event for Xuanzang (602–664) performed by a Jain monk in Nālandā. The relevant records in Xuanzang's biography (§ 2) and in Kuiji's biography (§ 3) clearly show that this encounter with the Digambara monk named *Vajhara, who predicted for the Chinese Master a successful return journey, had a significant impact on the latter's final decision to travel back to China. However, in all of the research on Xuanzang, hardly any attention has thus far been paid to this highly interesting fact. Furthermore, the controversial attitude of Jainism and Buddhism towards the fortune-telling ritual as taught in the respective canonical scriptures of both religions (§ 4) will be pointed out. Finally, the author proposes to demonstrate that the common Chinese perception of Jains as "skilled soothsayers" can probably be traced back to Xuanzang himself, who first introduced the term *shan-zhan ni-qian* 善片尼乾 "Nirgranthas as skilled soothsayers" in China (§ 5).

Keywords:

Xuanzang's & Kuiji's Biography, Nirgraṇṭhaputra 尼乾子 & Jainism, Divination & Soothsayers, Aṅgavidyā & Brahmajāla-Sutta

§1. Introduction

The starting point of the present paper deals with a highly interesting passage in Xuanzang's Biography Da-tang Da-ci'en-si San-zang-fa-shi Zhuan《大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳》 (A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty). In all of the research on Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), however, hardly any attention has thus far been paid to this special recording by Huili 慧立 (approx. 615–?) and Yancong 彦悰 (approx. 627–649).²

^{1.} The present paper was first presented at the online conference "From Jetavana to Jerusalem: Sacred Biography in Asian Perspectives and Beyond: An international Conference in Honour of Dr. Phyllis Granoff" (November 7–9, 2021), organized by the Glorisun Global Network for Buddhist Studies and the Frogbear project at the University of British Columbia in collaboration with Yale University and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I sincerely thank Prof. Chen Jinhua (陳金華) for the kind invitation.

^{2.} Cf. T50: 245c21ff. 《大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳》 Da-tang Da-ci'en-si San-zang-fa-shi Zhuan (A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty).

One day in Nālandā, a Jain monk named *Vajhara (or *Vajra 伐闍羅 fa-du-luo), who was "naked" (i.e., of the sky-clad Digaṃbara school), came unexpectedly into Xuanzang's cell. It was precisely at the time when the Chinese Master was about to make the difficult decision whether he should undertake the dangerous journey back to China. Xuanzang had often heard before that the Nirgraṇṭhas (尼乾 ni-qian) are particularly skilled at divination, and he, therefore, asked the Jain saying "I am a monk from the country of China and have come here to study many years ago. Now I want to return home. Shall I be able to reach my home? Which choice — going back or staying here — is more auspicious? And how long could my life last?" Following Xuanzang's wish, the Jain monk performed a divination ritual. He then informed the Chinese Buddhist that he would certainly reach his homeland, although staying in India would be the better choice (§ 2).

We can assume that Xuanzang's encounter with the Jain monk *Vajhara, which likely took place shortly before the Master left India in 643, greatly impacted his final decision to travel back to China. This divination event in Nālandā was presumably so important to Xuanzang personally that, later on, he entrusted it to his close disciples in China, not only to Huili and Yancong but also to Kuiji 窺基 (632–682). In Kuiji's biography written by Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001) during the Song dynasty (Song Gaoseng Zhuan 《宋高僧傳》), we find a description of the divination performed for Xuanzang by that Jain monk, which pretty much corresponds to Huili's records (§ 3).

It seems that the Buddhists very much appreciated the Jain soothsayers and their "confirmation of lucky fortune," though the Jains are actually of heretical faiths (外道 waidao). In order to explain this remarkable phenomenon, the present paper will study the controversial attitude of Jainism and Buddhism in the matter of divination (§ 4). For instance, the Buddha condemned various practices dealing with divination according to the Brahmajāla-Sutta of the Dīghanikāya (§ 4.1). In contrast to Buddhism, fortune-telling is allowed in late Jainism (4^{th} century AD at the latest); a canonical text called Aṅgavidyā is even used as the theoretical guideline for this magic ritual (§ 4.2).

In his travelogue *Datang-Xiyu-ji*《大唐西域記》(*Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty*), Xuanzang remarkably did not mention the divination performed by the Jain *Vajhara. However, he recorded another Jain predicting the lucky future for the Monastery Nālanda. It seems that the Chinese perception of Jains as being adept at divination is due to Xuanzang himself, who first introduced the term *shan-zhan ni-qian* 善占尼乾 "Nirgraṇthas as skilled soothsayers" in China. Moreover, all other references to this special term appear after Xuanzang (§ 5).

Finally, it should be pointed out that there are still a lot of valuable materials preserved in Buddhist literature. Comparative studies of Buddhist texts in Pāli and Chinese with Prakrit Jain texts will undoubtedly shed more light on the interrelationship between Jainism and Buddhism. Thus, it can also help us understand India and China's social and religious context during Xuanzang's time and the centuries that followed (§ 6).

§2. Huili's Records of Xuanzang's Encounter with the Fortune-telling Jain Monk

It is noteworthy that Xuanzang did not report on the Jain fortune-telling incident in his Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty (《大唐西域記》Datang-Xiyu-

ji). However, reports on this occurrence can be found in his biography written by Huili (慧立 615–?) as well as in the biography of his prominent pupil Kuiji (窺基 632–682) written by Zanning.

We, therefore, can suppose with some certainty that the divination event in Nālandā by Jain *Vajhara might have been significant to Xuanzang personally and had in the end a great impact on his final decision to travel back to China. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why the great Master entrusted this personal experience to his close disciples such as Huili and Kuiji.

First, a detailed report on Xuanzang's unexpected encounter with the Jain monk *Vajhara can be found in the Master's biography written by his pupil Huili, which had been, after Huili's death, redacted by another pupil named Yancong.³

The fifth chapter of Xuanzang's biography is well-known, because it deals with the Master's final decision to return home. However, it should be pointed out that the general and scholarly attention thus far has been more or less limited to the second part of the respective passage. The focus has, namely, been on how after learning of Xuanzang's final decision, the local Indian monks tried to advise their Chinese brother against his return journey.

Nevertheless, the final push, namely the Jain's fortune-telling, which ultimately led to Xuanzang's very last decision, has so far hardly been noticed. Therefore, in my opinion, it is worth reading this passage more closely. For a better understanding, I use here my own English translation, which deviates in a number of cases from the translation by Li Rongxi (1959/1995): ⁴

⁵鳩摩羅使未至間,有一露形尼乾子,名伐闍羅,忽入法師房來。法師舊聞尼乾善於占卜, 即請坐、問所疑,曰:

"玄奘支那國僧。來此學問歲月已久。今欲歸還,不知達不?又:去住二宜,何最爲吉?及 壽命長短?願仁者占看。"

Before the envoy sent by (King) Kumāra had arrived, there was a naked Nirgraṇṭhaputra named *Vajhara, who unexpectedly entered the Master's cell. The Master had often heard before that the Nirgraṇṭhas are particularly skilled at fortune-telling, he therefore invited (the visitor) to take a seat and questioned (the Jain) about his own uncertainties saying:

Huili's own life is nowhere near as well known as the biography he wrote for his famous teacher Xuanzang. The main sources on Huili include: 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳序、開元釋教錄卷九、宋高僧傳卷十七、六學僧傳卷十六.

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To compare the differences cf. Li 1995: 137-8: "Before the arrival of the envoy sent by King Kumāra, a naked Nirgrantha named Vajra unexpectedly came to the Master's room. Hearing that the Nirgrantha was good at divining, the Master invited him to take a seat and asked him to resolve his doubts, saying. "I am a Chinese monk and have come here to study for quite a number of years. Now I intend to return home, but I am not sure whether I shall be able to reach my home or not. As regards my going back or staying here, which is more auspicious for me? And how long shall I live? Will you please predict these matters for me?" Then the Nirgrantha asked for a piece of chalk and drew lines on the ground to make a forecast by divination. He told the Master, "It is good for you to stay, and you will enjoy the respect of the monks and lay people of the Five Indias. If you go back, you will be able to reach home and will also enjoy respect, but it will not be as good as staying here. As regards the length of your life, you will live for another ten years from now. If you perform more meritorious deeds, your life may be prolonged, but that is beyond my knowledge." The Master then said that though he desires to go back, he did not know how he could carry back a large amount of scriptures and images. The Nirgrantha said, "Do not worry. King Śīlāditya and King Kumāra will dispatch men to escort you on the way. You will surely get back without trouble." The Master said in reply, "I have never seen these two kings. How would they grant me such favors?" The Nirgrantha said, "King Kumāra has already sent a messenger to invite you, and he will be here in two or three days. After having seen Kumāra, you will also see Śīlāditya." The Chinese text discussed below is quoted from T50: 245c25–246a11.

"I am a monk from the country of China and have come here to study many years ago. Now, I want to return home, but I don't know whether I will reach my country? And, which one of both options - going home or staying here - is more auspicious? Aside from that, how long could my life last? Would you, the Merciful, divine (all of this), please!"

尼乾乃索一白石, 畫地而筮。報法師曰:

"師住時最好。五印度及道俗不無敬重。去時得達,於敬重亦好,但不如於住。師之壽命,自今已去,更可十年。若憑餘福轉續,非所知也。"

Thereupon, the Nirgrantha requested a chalkstone and drew patterns on the ground to perform his divination. Then, he spoke to Master (Xuanzang) saying:

"The best is when you, Master, would stay here, for all peoples in five parts of India including clergy and laity will show their high regard (to you). In case you will leave, (however, the goal) can be reached, and it will also be fine as regards the respect (of the people); but (going-away) will not be as convenient as staying here. What your lifespan, Master, is concerned, another ten years can be at least expected from today. Yet, it remains open, how long the (lifetime) can be extended due to your further merits."

法師又問:

"意欲思歸,經像既多,不知若爲勝致?"

尼乾日:

"勿憂!戒日王、鳩摩羅王自遣人送師,必達無苦。"

Again, Master (Xuanzang) asked the Jain:

"My wish desires to return home, but I have already (collected) numerous scriptures and images, will I be able to carry them back unscathed?"

The Nirgrantha said:

"Don't worry! King Śīlāditya and King Kumāra will – on their own – send off legates to accompany you, Master; (all goals) will be definitely reached without problems."

法師報曰:

"彼二王者,從來未面。如何得降此恩?"

尼乾曰:

"鳩摩羅王已發使來請,二三日當到,既見鳩摩羅。亦便見戒日。"

The Master responded:

"These two kings have actually never met me. How did I deserve this graciousness granted by them?"

The Nirgrantha said:

"King Kumāra has already sent a delegate to invite you, who will arrive in two or three days. Therefore, you will shortly see Kumāra. Also, you will meet Śīlāditya soon."

如是言訖而去。法師即作還意、莊嚴經像。

After having said that, (the Jain) went away. The Master (Xuanzang) <u>instantly made the decision to return</u> (to China), starting with the collocation of scriptures and images.

As quoted and translated above, the text in Xuanzang's biography clearly states that it was the Jain's divination that immediately led to Xuanzang's final decision to return to China: 法師即作還意. 6 Unfortunately, this crucial sentence has not been correctly translated

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^{6.} As mentioned earlier, the following passage is much more popular; it describes how the local Indian monks, after learning of Xuanzang's final decision, tried to advise their Chinese brother against his return journey, see T50: 246a11-17: 諸徳聞之咸來勸住。日印度者佛生之處。大聖雖遷遺蹤具在。巡遊禮讚足豫平生。何爲至斯而更捨也。又支那國者蔑戾車地。輕人賤法。諸佛所以不生。志狹垢深。聖賢由茲弗往。氣寒土嶮

by Li,⁷ who mistakenly interpreted 作還意 as "<u>made preparations</u>" instead of as the correct phrase, "<u>made the decision</u>." In addition, 即emphasizes here "instantly", namely the direct result of the Jain's divination.

§3. The Reference to the Divinating Nirgrantha in Kuiji's Biography

It can be taken as certain that Xuanzang entrusted this experience, which obviously was important to him, not only to one disciple like Huili but at least to one other student, namely the famous Kuiji 窺基.

In the latter's biography, found in *Song Gaoseng Zhuan*《宋高僧傳》 and written by Zanning 賛寧 (919–1001), there is additional evidence indicating how influential the Jain fortune-teller could have been for Xuanzang: When Master Xuanzang once met Kuiji in the fields, he saw how intelligent Kuiji's face looked and how appropriate his behavior was. Then, the Master said: as a descendant of a general, this (boy) is definitely of a sincere character. If our karmic connections were compatible and I could convert him into a disciple, then the Buddhist Dharma that I represent could certainly be passed on to the next generation!

奘師始因陌上見其眉秀目朗,擧措疎略。曰:將家之種不謬也哉。脱或因縁相扣,度爲弟子,則吾法有寄矣!

復念:在印度時,計迴程次,就尼犍子邊占得卦,甚吉"師但東歸,哲資生矣。"遂造北門 將軍,微諷之出家。⁸

(Master Xuanzang) also remembered: When I was still in India, I considered returning to China as the second option. But the result of the divination that I obtained from a Nirgranthaputra was downright auspicious indicating, "as soon as you, Master, return to the East, intelligent offsprings will surely appear (near you)."

It is highly interesting that the Buddhist tradition in China also considered the conversion of the most famous disciple of Xuanzang in the context of the divination of the Jain. According to Kuiji's biography, after Xuanzang remembered the Jain's prediction again, he visited the family of the general guarding the northern city gate and gently persuaded Kuiji to join the Buddhist order.

Comparing the records by Huili with those by Zanning, it turns out that the following messages are basically the same:

- The indecision and uncertainty of Xuanzang (Huili: 所疑) might have been the cause behind why he initially considered returning home as the second choice (Zanning: 計迴程次).
- The prediction given by the Nirgrantha was particularly promising (Huili: 師住時最好...... 去時得達; Zanning: 甚吉).
- The converting of excellent students such as Kuiji is consistent with Vajhara's statement (Huili: 去時得達,於敬重亦好; Zanning: 師但東歸,哲資生矣).

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亦焉足念哉。法師報曰。法王立教義尚流通。豈有自得霑心而遺未悟。

See Li 1995: 138 "Having said so the Nirgrantha went away. The Master then made preparations for his return journey and packed up his scriptures and images."

T50: 725b26-c1.

[&]quot; Another interpretation of 計迴程次 would be "I considered returning to China many times."

§4. The Controversial Attitude of Jainism and Buddhism towards Divination

It seems that the Buddhists very much appreciated to get this kind of "confirmation of lucky fortune" and even wanted to rely on it, 10 though it came from "heretics" of different faiths. In any case, no antipathy can be ascertained, neither in Vajahra's divination for Xuanzang (§§ 2–3) nor in Xuanzang's description of the prediction by a Jain monk with regard to the Nālanda monastery, which will be discussed below (§ 5).

This remarkable phenomenon is due to the different religious backgrounds of Jainism and Buddhism. It is evident that the attitudes towards the divination ritual in both religions – as much alike as they may be in some other respects – are fundamentally different from one another.

§4.1. The Buddha Condemned Various Practices Dealing with Divination

In a long dialogue between the Buddha and the monks, as documented in the *Brahmajāla-Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, the Buddha named a number of practices that he disliked, including divination. According to section 21 on divination e.g., the Buddha condemns 30 particular wrong means as low arts, from which Gotama holds aloof.

"yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā saddhā-deyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te evarūpaya tiracchānavijjāya micchājivena jīvikaṃ kappenti - seyyathīdaṃ aṅgaṃ nimittaṃ uppādaṃ supinaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ mūsikācchinnaṃ aggi-homaṃ ... - iti vā iti evarūpāya tiracchānavijjāya pativirato Samano Gotamo ti." 11

"Or he might say: 'Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as these: – (1) Palmistry-prophesying long life, prosperity, &c. (or the reverse), from marks on a child's hands, feet, &c. (2) Divining by means of omens and signs. (3) Auguries drawn from thunderbolts and other celestial portents. (4) Prognostication by interpreting dreams. (5) Fortune-telling from marks on the body. (6) Auguries from the marks on cloth gnawed by mice. (7) Sacrificing to Agnis. ... Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts."

§4.2. The Jains Use the Angavidyā as a Guideline for Divination

In contrast to Buddhism, fortune-telling is not only allowed in Jainism, a canonical text is even used as a theoretical basis for this purpose. This text, named $A\dot{n}gavidy\bar{a}$, forms the last

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^{10.} In this regard, the author also reminds the reader of the well-known depictions of Brahman's interpretation of Māyā's dream and of the horoscope after Śākamuni's birth, see Kurita 栗田功, *Gandhāra Art* I, pp. 27 and 43–45.

^{11.} *The Dīgha Nikāya* I.9: 1–12.

^{12.} The English translation is quoted from Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha (Dīghanikāya)*, pp. 16–19. Cf. also R. O. Franke's German translation (pp. 13–16): "Oder sie gewinnen auf tadelnswerte Weise ihren Lebensunterhalt mittelst niederer Künste und Wissenschaften, als da sind: Wissen von den schicksalbedeutenden Körpereigentümlichkeiten, virtuoses Verständnis für Omina, Kunst der Wahrsagung aus großen Naturerscheinungen, Traumdeutung, Kenntnis der für ein großes Schicksal bedeutungsvollen Zeichen am Körper, Prophezeiung von Unheil aus Mäuse- oder Rattenfraß in Kleidungsstücken, Erreichung gewisser Zwecke durch geeignete Opfer: Feuropfer — der Samana Gotama hat nichts zu schaffen mit solchen niedrigen Künsten und Wissenschaften."

part of the Mūlasutta. W. Schubring explained this work as follows: "Angavijjā, Lehrbuch der Deutekunst. anga steht (1,2) an der Spitze der aus 8 mahā-nimitta gebildeten Reihe, ihm folgen (vgl. Thān. 427a) sara, lakkhana, vanjana, suvina, uppāya, bhomma, antarikkha. Als Quelle des nimitta-nāṇa wird der Ditthivāya angegeben (1,10), und in dem Eingangswort ahā-puvvam sieht Leumann eine Beziehung auf die Puvva. Die Angav. Bezeichnet sich als bhagavaī mahāpurisa-dinnā. 60 ajjhāya in Śl. Und Prosa, auch Gāhā."13

Although some of the earliest Jain texts also condemn the use of the magic practice, the Śvetāmbara text Angavidyā, which can be dated to the 4th century CE, allows for the use of various arts $(vidy\bar{a})$ "in rites to divine outcomes based on a variety of sources" and "prescribes the use of the pañcanamaskāra (mantra of the five types of supreme lords) in divination rites."14

§5. The Chinese Perception of the "Nirgranthas as Skilled Soothsayers"

As mentioned earlier (§ 1), Xuanzang remarkably did not mention his encounter with the Jain fortune-teller in his travelogue《大唐西域記》 Datang-Xiyu-Ji (Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty), which was, as far as is known, written on behalf of the emperor. Nonetheless, he did use the term 善占尼乾 shan-zhan ni-qian, "Nirgranthas as skilled soothsayers" in this book.

In the 9th chapter (juan) of the Datang-Xiyu-Ji, Xuanzang narrated – in connection with the foundation of the Monastery Nālanda - that a Jain monk, who was a distinguished soothsayer predicted the great future for this holy place.

其地本菴沒羅園。五百商人以十億金錢買以施佛。佛於此處三月説法。諸商人等亦證聖 果。佛涅槃後未久,此國先王鑠迦羅阿逸多唐言帝日敬重一乘、遵崇三寶,式占福地,建此伽 藍。初興功也,穿傷龍身。時有善占尼乾外道,見而記曰:"斯勝地也!建立伽藍當必昌 盛。爲五印度之軌則逾千載而彌隆。後進學人易以成業。然多歐血,傷龍故也"。15

The site was originally an Āmra garden. Five hundred merchants bought it for ten kôtis of gold pieces and gave it to Buddha. Buddha preached the law here during three months, and the merchants and others obtained the fruit of holiness. Not long after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, a former king of this country named Śakrāditya (Shi-kia-lo-'o-t'ie-to) respected and esteemed the (system of) one Vehicle, and honoured very highly the three treasures. Having selected by augury a lucky spot, he built this saṅghārāma. When he began the work he wounded, in digging, the body of the Naga. At this time there was a distinguished soothsayer belonging to the heretical sect of the Nirgranthas. He having seen the occurrence, left his record: "This is a very superior site. If you build here a sanghārāma, it must of necessity become highly renowned. Throughout the five Indias it will be a model. For a period of a thousand years it will flourish still. Students of all degrees will here easily accomplish their studies. But many will split blood because of this wound given to the Naga."16

There is no doubt that a Jain's divination – despite his status as a "heretic" – is highly

See Schubring 1935: 84, who also noticed: "Über die Angav. sprach nach einer (nur die 2. Hälfte enthaltenen Hs.) Leumann auf dem VII. OC (Berichte desselben S. 75), vgl. das Referat IA 16, 163."

For more details, cf. Gough 2020:568f. and 578.

See T51: 923b19-b27.

The English translation is quoted from Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II: 168.

valued by Buddhists like Xuanzang himself. Moreover, it appears that the term 善占尼乾 *shan-zhan ni-qian*, "Nirgranthas as skilled soothsayers" occurs first in *Datang-Xiyu-Ji*, for all other references to this term seem to be from a later period than Xuanzang.¹⁷ Hence, we likely have reason to assume that Xuanzang first introduced the term in China.

In summary, Xuanzang used three terms for Jainas:

- 善占尼乾外道 *shan-zhan ni-qian wai-dao*, "skilled soothsayer belonging to the heretical sect of the Nirgranthas" (T51: 923b24)
- 露形尼乾 lu-xing ni-qian, "naked Nirgrantha" (T51: 927a23 and 927c25)
- 尼乾之徒 ni-qian zhi tu, "followers of Nirgranthas" (T51: 929a5)

In addition, Xuanzang seemly distinguished other "sky-clad" ascetics from the Jain Digambaras, when he referred to them simply as "followers of naked ascetics" 露形之徒 *lu-xing zhi tu* (T51: 908b3 and 931c28) or "naked heretics" 露形外道 *lu-xing wai-dao* (T51: 921c29, 931b8–9, and 931c5).

§6. Conclusion

It is probably worthwhile to point out that there are still a lot of valuable materials preserved in Buddhist literature that tells us how Buddhism and Jainism once co-existed and influenced each other. Comparative studies of Buddhist texts in Pāli and Chinese with Jain Prakrit literature will certainly shed more light on their interrelationship. Thus, it can help us understand the historical landscape, especially the social and religious context in India during Xuanzang's time and in the centuries that followed in China. For instance, Xuanzang described some Jaina centers that existed alongside the Buddhist monasteries in the 7th century.

In 2019, when looking for old Chinese sources regarding Jainas, the author became aware of the record on the Jaina soothsayer in Xuanzang's biography as discussed above. At the author's suggestion, former M.A. student Deng Jinhua gave a talk on this topic at the symposium "Comparative Religious Studies" held at the Sun Yat-sen University in October.²⁰

^{17.} E.g. in Fahua Zhuanji《法華傳記》 by Sengxiang 僧詳 (approx. 712-762): 有尼乾子善占相 [T51: 79a28]; three times in Sanbao Ganying Yaoluelu《三寶感應要略録》 by Feizhuo 非濁 (approx. ?-1063): 時有一尼乾善占 [T51: 832c7], 有一尼乾子善占察.....尼乾以籌印地云 [T51: 833b22-23], and 時有一尼乾子善占相察 [T51: 833b29]; and in Fozu Tongji《佛祖統紀》 by Zhipan 志磐 (probably around 1270): 尼乾下算, 自見己身罪滅生天 [T49: 173b4-5].

^{18.} Cf. the publications in this regard as mentioned by Hu-von Hinüber 2018 and by Quarnström 2020; in terms of art history are to be added: Brancaccio, "More on the Buddha and the Naked Ascetics" (1994), and Zin, "Some Details from the Representations of the Parinirvāṇa Cycle in the Art of Gandhara and Kucha: The Iconography of the Wandering Ascetics (Parivrājaka, Nirgrantha and Ājīvika)" (2018).

^{19.} His interesting records can be found in the following passages in the *Datang Xiyuji*: (1) T51: 927a15–24 奔那伐彈那國。周四千餘里,國大都城周三十餘里。……伽藍二十餘所,僧徒三千餘人,大小二乘兼功綜習。天祠百所,異道雜居。露形尼乾寔繁其黨。 (2) T51: 927c20–25: 三摩呾吒國。周三千餘里。濱近大海,地遂卑濕。國大都城周二十餘里。……好學勤勵,邪正兼信。伽藍三十餘所,僧徒二千餘人,並皆遵習上座部學。天祠百所,異道雜居。露形尼乾其徒甚盛。 (3) T51: 928c27–929a5: 羯餧伽國。周五千餘里。國大都城周二十餘里。……少信正法,多遵外道。伽藍十餘所。僧徒五百餘人。習學大乘上座部法。天祠百餘所。異道甚衆。多是尼乾之徒也。

See the author's report on this symposium: Hu-von Hinüber 2020, p. 18.

However, his presentation emphasized the later Chinese sources on divination instead of elucidating the early relationship between Jainism and Buddhism.²¹ Therefore, the author tries with the present paper to take up the original research intention.²²

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T = 《大正新修大藏經》 *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, ed. by J. Takakusu, K. Watanabe and G. Ono, Tokyo 1924–1935.

Zanning 賛寧, see Song Gaoseng Zhuan.

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^{21.} According to our recent agreement, Mr. Deng – though working in economic administration now – will probably continue the research direction he has started in 2019.

In this context, Max Deeg's paper "Naked Heretics: On the Representation of Jains in Chinese Buddhist Texts" at the above-mentioned conference (see note 1), in which extensive material relating to Jainas has been compiled and examined from the Chinese source, should particularly be referred to.

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